Southern Trends: A Summer Review

Token integration started with a minimum of difficulty in Little Rock as its public schools reopened after a year of shut-down. Fashionable Hall High School joined Central High in the integrated column, with a total of six Negroes assigned to the two schools.

It was a victory for moderate forces that have been gathering strength in Little Rock over the past year. But in a sense it was a setback for integration, since nine Negroes had attended Central in 1957-58. The NAACP went to court to challenge the rejection of more than 50 other Negroes under a pupil placement law.

Moderation also won a victory in Virginia this summer when elections were held for the State General Assembly. In key races, candidates committed to token integration and open schools defeated extreme segregationists who advocated a return to massive resistance. This strengthened the moderate hold on the Assembly. (See more details on Virginia on pages 1 and 3.)

In Atlanta, a Federal Court told the School Board to submit an integration plan by December 1, and the New Orleans School Board was given until March 1. No dates have been set in Dallas and Houston. Plans proceeded for token integration in a Miami suburban school this fall.

Gradualism won again in Nashville when a Federal Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a 12-year integration plan, which the NAACP challenges as too slow.

And in Louisiana the work of the Federal Civil Rights Commission was stymied again. (See story this page.)

The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 17, No. 7

Sept., 1959

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Integrated Spelling

—Knoxville News-Sentinel Photo

SPELLING ABILITY was the only issue when an annual city championship spelling bee brought together white and Negro pupils from the still-segregated schools of Knoxville, Tenn. Above are the winner, Lillie Linder (right), and the defending 1958 champion, Ada Greenblatt. The pair eliminated 30 other champion spellers, then Ada mispelled "innocuous." Lillie spelled it correctly and then spelled "irreconcilable" to win the championship. Lillie, 12, is a seventh grader. The city championship spelling bee is sponsored annually by the Knoxville News-Sentinel.

Outlook in Virginia

Political Action Holds Key

By W. HALE THOMPSON

Massive resistance has collapsed in Virginia, but the struggle for integration is far from won.

Desegregation and integration will move forward in this state in proportion to the action taken by Negroes and liberal whites to use the entire forces of government to push their program.

When two judicial decrees knocked the props from under Virginia's massive resistance program, Governor Almond recognized the constitutional facts of life. He told the General Assembly:

"I have repeatedy stated that I did not possess the power and knew of none that could be evolved that would enable Virginia to overthrow or negate the over-riding power of the Federal Government."

But this did not mean that the Almond administration had surrendered. It marked the beginning of a regrouping of forces.

A schism had developed in Senator Byrd's conservative machine over the desegregation issue. The Byrd forces continued to work for a return to massive resistance. But the governor apparently decided that he did not want to preside over the imminent funeral of public education in his state. History would not be kind to him under such circumstances. His purpose, therefore, was to find some means

* * *

W. Hale Thompson, Newport News attorney, is on the legal staff of the Virginia NAACP and is a member of the board of SCEF.

W. Hale Thompson

to slow desegregation to a snail's pace.

The legislative package (known as the Ferrow Plan) recommended by the Almond administration to achieve this aim included revision of compulsory school attendance statutes; establishment of a tuition-grant program, and new laws providing for local enrollment or placement of pupils instead of placement by a State board.

The General Assembly adopted all the program except repeal of the State Pupil Placement Act, which the massive resisters still hoped might be used to prevent any desegregation. (A test of the effectiveness of this law, as amended, will be seen in the current Newport News school case, as the Placement Board has been made a party to that case.)

The July Democratic primaries indicate the Almond forces will be stronger in the next session of the General Assembly. This probably means the Byrd forces will not be able to repeal the Perrow program of snail-pace desegregation.

Perhaps the chief significance of the Perrow Plan is the recognition by the State that there must be some desegregation in

(Continued on page 4)

Louisiana Struggle

(By Staff Correspondent)

SHREVEPORT, La.—The militant mood of Louisiana Negroes was reflected when 64 of them came here in July prepared to testify before the Federal Civil Rights Commission that they had been denied the right to vote.

All 64 had previously signed affidavits submitted to the Commission, in many cases at considerable economic and physical risk. They had traveled from all over northern Louisiana for the hearings. Many more were prepared to come if they were needed.

Their efforts were temporarily thwarted when Federal Judge Ben C. Dawkins, Jr. issued a restraining order halting the scheduled hearings of the Civil Rights Commission. He questioned the constitutionality of the law setting up the Commission and caused a three-judge court to convene in August to consider the question.

Judge Dawkins acted on a motion filed by Jack Gremillion, Louisiana attorney general. The judge said the hearings would violate the rights of registrars because they wouldn't be allowed to cross-examine their accusers.

Louisiana officials have boasted that they will purge 90 per cent of the state's Negro voters from the rolls — and they've already begun to carry out their threat.

Affidavits on the purge submitted to the Commission had been gathered under the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and its

(Continued on page 2)

A Southern Profile

Little Rock Climaxes Spiritual Journey

(By Staff Correspondent)

The Rev. Dunbar Ogden, Jr., is a man whose development has, in his own words, "been pushed forward by crises."

The most recent and the greatest of these was the Little Rock school crisis of 1957-58 in which Mr. Ogden was one of the principal figures. He was president of the Little Rock Ministerial Association at that time.

A Presbyterian minister, Mr. Ogden was finally forced to resign from his church in Little Rock because of his stand for integration. Today he is an associate pastor in Huntington, W. Va.

But as he looks back on his Little Rock experience he sees it as the culmination of a "spiritual pilgrimage"—a pilgrimage every white Southerner must someday make before he becomes a fully-participating member of the human race. Perhaps also it was a beginning of a fuller life.

Mr. Ogden was reared in the South's tradition of segregation. Born in Columbus, Miss., his family roots on both sides go back into the slave-holding society of the Old South. One of his great-grandfathers was reputed to have owned more slaves than any man in Mississippi—and perhaps in the South.

But Mr. Ogden started life with one asset in the struggle against prejudice. Both his parents were possessed of a deep concern for human suffering. His father was also a Presbyterian minister.

"I think my mother and father accepted segregation—it was the pattern of the day and everyone did," he recalls. "But they were people of real compassion. They were sensitive to injustice and suffering."

Such sensitivity, which Mr. Ogden inherited and absorbed, does not automatically make an integrationist. But it is a first step. One has to begin to question the customs of his society. And Mr. Ogden did—at an early age.

The first "crisis" that pushed him forward came while he was still a young boy at play.

The Ogdens moved from Mississippi when he was quite small and Mr. Ogden was reared in Knoxville, Atlanta, and Louisville, where he attended public schools. But during his childhood he went back to Mississippi for summer vacations with relatives.

On these occasions he and a white friend "Jim" played with a Negro boy who lived on a plantation owned by Jim's father. Jim and the Negro boy scuffled, wrestled, and tried to hold each other under water at the swimming hole. Mr. Ogden noticed that the Negro boy always let himself be defeated—he never won. At times Jim was mean, but the Negro lad "took it."

"This was considered perfect Negro-white relations," he recalls. "It was a crisis in its small way, because I had to think. I had to ask myself if Jim was treating this boy right—and the answer came over me that it wasn't fair —it wasn't as it should be."

The Rev. Dunbar Ogden, Jr.

After that, throughout his youth and young manhood, Mr. Ogden can see, looking back on it, that he was groping—groping for a real relationship with that part of the human race the white South has rejected.

As a high school boy in Atlanta, he taught a Sunday School class for Negro boys. After he finished Davidson College, he went to Richmond, Va., to study for the ministry at Union Theological Seminary (Presbyterian).

(Continued on page 3)

Status of Bills

As the 1959 Congressional session neared an end, it appeared that only a much-watered down civil rights bill, if any, would pass this year.

On the other hand, it also appeared likely that efforts to revive state sedition laws would be thwarted this session. See back page for stories on opposition that arose from the nation's Negro leadership to these laws. (See June Patriot for background.)

The Southern Patriot

The Southern Patriot is published monthly except July and August by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., dedicated to ending segregation and discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin. Editorial offices, 4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville 11, Ky.; business offices, Suite 404, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.; office of publication, 150 Tenth Ave. North, Nashville, Tenn. Twenty-five cents a copy, $2 a year. Entered as second-class mail matter, Nashville, Tennessee.

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

President
AUBREY W. WILLIAMS

Vice-Presidents
DR. HERMAN H. LONG
BISHOP EDGAR A. LOVE
MODJESKA M. SIMKINS

Treasurer
BENJAMIN E. SMITH

Secretary
DR. JAMES L. HUPP

Assistant Secretary
MRS. FRED ZENGEL

Executive Director
JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI

Field Secretaries & Editors
ANNE BRADEN
CARL BRADEN

VOL. 17. No. 7 SEPTEMBER, 1959

Bits of History

'Father of Abolitionism'

By DON WEST

At Ripley, Ohio, a bronze bust and granite monument mark the memory of a great Southerner, John Rankin. For 44 years he lived, loved and ministered there.

His house stood high on a hill overlooking the Ohio River. Day and night a lamp flickered from its south window.

Those rays, glimmering across to the Kentucky shore, guided many a weary, terror-stricken slave who may have traveled along the Underground Railroad all the way from North Georgia up through the great Appalachians.

Born February 4, 1793, in Jefferson County, Tenn., John Rankin sucked in love of liberty and hatred of slavery with his mother's milk. Like many of Southern Appalachia's inhabitants, he came of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian ancestry. Others had a mixture of English, German or French Huguenot, but mostly they were men who had rebelled against tyranny and oppression.

Some of these people had been with the North Carolina Regulators who fought the Royal Governor, Tryon. They later defeated the British at King's Mountain, which Jefferson credited with turning the tide of the Revolution. Earlier they had been the first men of American birth to write and adopt a constitution and set up "a free and independent community" on this continent at Watauga.

Such a background helps explain why Souhern Appalachia opposed slavery so bitterly, gave refuge to run-away slaves, and stuck by the Union in the Civil War. That moral and physical support was of inestimable value.

John Rankin was a vital part of this tradition. From boyhood he loved liberty and hated slavery. Determined to fight that evil, he chose the ministry and entered old Washington College at Jonesboro, Tenn.

Finishing his study there he was licensed to preach by the Presbyterians in 1816. He married the same year and, after the first child was born in 1817, the parents decided they would not rear a family on slave soil. They started toward Ohio.

There, continuing his fight against slavery, John Rankin was to become known as "the father of Abolitionism." His later career will be the subject of the next article in this series.

The Struggle In Louisiana

(Continued from page 1)

Shreveport affiliate, the United Christian Movement, which also organized witnesses for the hearings. The United Christian Movement has registered more than 1000 Negro voters in the past year, which helps explain the determination of segregationists to carry out their purge.

SCEF Executive Director James A. Dombrowski and Field Secretary Carl Braden, who were in Shreveport for the thwarted hearings, issued a statement protesting Judge Dawkins' injunction. They said in part:

"Judge Dawkins' concern for the rights of witnesses is commendable, but we wish he showed as much concern for the rights of the Negroes involved in this action. . . He ignores the fact that rights of tens of thousands of Negroes have been violated. . . These Negroes are victims of a conspiracy by state officials who have cynically and publicly boasted that they will purge 90 per cent of the Negroes now on the voting rolls in Louisiana.

"If Negroes deprived of the ballot cannot get relief from these state officials or from a federal court, where are they to turn for relief? They must get help from the Justice Department armed with new civil rights legislation which has teeth in it.

"We therefore call upon the President and the leaders of both major parties to use their influence to get such legislation passed at this session of Congress."

The Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker of Louisville, Ky., a member of the SCEF board of directors, became Presiding Bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church in July. He is also an attorney.

Books on Little Rock

A sizeable body of writing is developing on the integration crisis in Little Rock.

Thus far, most of the books have been pleas for the writer's side of the controversial story, but each sheds some additional light on the complex picture.

Reviewed earlier in *The Patriot* were *Bigger Than Little Rock*, Episcopal Bishop Robert Brown's study of the church's part in the crisis as he saw it, and *A Southern Moderate Speaks*, Brooks Hays' effective presentation of his own middle-of-the-road approach to the Little Rock problem and the segregation question in general.

Now two additional "this-is-my-story" books have appeared. Virgil T. Blossom, school superintendent throughout the crisis, gives his version in *It Has Happened Here* (Harper & Brothers, New York, $2.95.)

Blossom tells the story dramatically, and no reader will be bored. He also puts his finger on some fatal weaknesses in the situation, such as the failure of the Federal Government to give any real support to forces of law and order in Little Rock—except for the one dramatic gesture of sending the federal troops.

But most students of race relations will feel that Blossom fails utterly to probe the deeper causes of the crisis. Nor does he attempt any self-criticism in a situation in which he too was much at fault.

Even at that, Blossom's book is much better done than another biased report, *The Case of the Sleeping People*, by Dr. and Mrs. Dale Alford (Pioneer Press, P.O. Box 191, Little Rock, $4.00). Alford, a determined segregationist, is the former Little Rock School Board member who defeated Brooks Hays for his U. S. Congress seat.

The Patriot has tried to look at his book objectively. Certainly the segregationist position should be presented and read. But this is a dull book. It contains 138 pages, of which 37 are devoted to quotation of a court opinion and 31 more to Alford's TV talks.

However, since it is the only book of this viewpoint yet written on Little Rock, it is probably worth the reading time for anyone who wants a thorough understanding of the opposing forces.

By far the most valuable book yet produced on Little Rock is *Christians in Racial Crisis*, by Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew (Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C., $3.50).

The book deals with only one aspect of the crisis—the role of religious groups—but it treats that aspect thoroughly, profoundly, and constructively. It should prove a valuable work, especially to those who believe with the authors that "an aroused Southern ministry . . . could become the next decade's most important agent of social change . . . But will it?"

Campbell and Pettigrew conducted an intensive investigation, financed by the Laboratory of Social Relations of Harvard University, of the Little Rock ministry throughout the 1957-58 crisis. They held repeated interviews with 42 ministers and rabbis — segregationist, moderate, and integrationist. Their findings answer many questions as to why organized religion seemed to fail in Little Rock, and they indicate that the fault was not all in that city but in the very structure of religious institutions in this country.

* * *

It is noteworthy that no book on Little Rock has yet attempted to present the viewpoint of the Negro community or the Negro students. This situation should be remedied soon as Mrs. Daisy Bates, NAACP leader, is now writing a book due for publication next spring.

The University of Florida enrolled five Negro teachers for its summer session. Desegregation started at the university during the winter with the enrollment of two Negro students.

CORE Institute

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), in cooperation with its Miami affiliate, is planning a national Interracial Action Institute in Miami for September 5 to 20.

Persons from all parts of the country who are interested in training for community leadership in direct nonviolent action for integration are invited to attend.

In addition to discussions of the theories of noviolent action, the Institute will feature actual action projects in the Miami area.

Cost including room and board for 16-day period is $100; scholarship aid is available for those who need it. Interested persons should write to CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y., for more information and application blanks.

The Rev. Alexander D. Moseley of Weldon, N. C., Baptist minister and leader in the struggle for civil rights, has been elected to the SCEF board of directors. He is chairman of North Carolina Friends of SCEF.

New Booklets of Interest

"Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis," a study of racial violence in 11 Southern states from January 1, 1955, to January 1, 1959. It reports 530 cases, documented from press reports. Published jointly by the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council (63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta).

"James T. Rapier," by Eugene Feldman, the story of Alabama's Negro congressmen in the Reconstruction Era, published by the Southern Newsletter, P. O. Box 1307, Louisville 1, Ky. (Price, 25c).

'Why I Believe in Integration' . . .

Attorney Cites Law, Religion and Science

By JUNE PURCELL GUILD

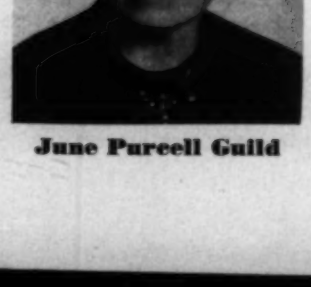
(The author of this article lives in Richmond, Va., where she has long been an outspoken advocate of integration. She is a lawyer and an author. Her published works include "Living with the Law," "Black Laws of Virginia," "Social Work Engineering" (with Arthur Alden Guild), and others.)

I am an American. Accordingly, I believe in the U. S. Constitution and the Amendments as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Defiance of the Supreme Court is subversion. I do not believe in subversion. Therefore, necessarily and unavoidably I believe in integration.

In 1954 the Supreme Court in the Brown case declared: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal"; also, those who are segregated are denied "the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

At the same term the Court said: ". . . We hold that racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia is a denial of the due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution."

Enthusiastically and repetitiously segregationists spread this lie: that the desegregation decisions are unconstitutional and illegal because they are based on "psychology" and "sociology." Those who believe in law and order should know the words of the decisions and defend them. "They are slaves who dare not be, In the right with two or three."



June Purcell Guild

The law denying the legality of segregation is clear. Equally clear are the principles of Christianity against segregation. There is not a word in the Bible which defends or even suggests that segregation was ordained by God. It was a drunken Moses, not God, who cursed Ham and declared him a servant "unto his brethren." Nor is there a scintilla of evidence that Negroes are descendants of Ham.

God is "no respecter of persons"; we are "all children of God by faith in Jesus Christ. . ."

Turning to science, we learn that anthropologists, archaeologists, paleontologists, biologists, and others have pointed out there are no pure races and no inferior races and all men had a common origin.

I should be ashamed not to believe in integration, because law, religion, science all support it.

★

News In Brief

Richmond Negro Vote Decisive

In Richmond, Va., the Negro vote emerged from this summer's primary elections for the General Assembly as a force to be reckoned with. The strongly-segregationist Times-Dispatch, in a post-election analysis, called it a "potent" force, and quoted a white politician as saying that in the future white candidates must "woo the Negro vote."

It was estimated that about 9,000 Negroes voted—one-third of the 27,000 persons voting in the election. The 9,000 Negro turnout represented 64 per cent of registered Negroes, whereas the 18,000 white voters who came out were only 33 per cent of those registered.

Single-shotting by about 90 per cent of the Negro voters was credited with re-electing a white moderate, Edward E. Haddock, to the State Senate. His total vote was 13,711, so without the Negro votes he couldn't have won.

Single-shotting in the House race, plus about 1,800 white votes, rolled up a 10,975 vote for a Negro candidate, Dr. Thomas H. Henderson. He lacked 1,750 votes of the number he needed to win, but his was the largest vote ever polled by a Negro in a General Assembly election in Richmond.

The NAACP Crusade for Voters conducted the get-out-the-vote drive.

* * * *

Memphis State University announced it would admit Negro students this fall. The announcement came just as a Federal Court was expected to order the school to comply with a desegregation order of two years ago.

In Baltimore, the Council of AFL-CIO Unions, composed of about 30 locals, voted almost unanimously to support enactment of a strong fair employment law for the city.

* * * *

Oak Ridge, Tenn., has elected a Negro to its first City Council. He is Washington Butler, Jr., a senior laboratory technician at the Medical Division of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies. The atomic city of Oak Ridge had been under federal jurisdiction and has just become a self-governing city.

* * * *

In Little Rock, a bomb was hurled at the home of Mrs. Daisy Bates, NAACP leader. It fell short of its mark and the only damage was a hole in the yard. The Bates home has been the scene of many incidents of violence.

* * * *

In Bethesda, Md., a veteran Negro teacher and principal has been made principal of the predominantly white Bannockburn elementary school. She is the first of her race to head such a school in Montgomery County, although faculty integration is proceeding in a number of schools.

* * *

In Knoxville, the Human Relations Council bulletin reports two instances of integrated activity on the part of the younger generation. The Junior Academy of Science, composed of high school students, has been operating without fanfare on an integrated basis for two years. White students from the Unversity of Tennessee and Negro students from Knoxville College recently cooperated on the production of a play, "Christ in the Concrete City."

* * * *

Five states this year adopted laws against discrimination in housing, according to the bulletin *Trends in Housing*. Colorado, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Oregon became the first states to bar discrimination in private housing. California passed a law prohibiting bias in publicly-assisted housing.

Lost Forever

Integration disputes cost Southern students 1.9 million school days last year, according to Arthur S. Flemming, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. He said educations of 18,300 teenagers in Arkansas and Virginia were interrupted.

Prosecutor Ends Life With Bullet

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — State's Attorney A. Scott Hamilton, 48, ended his life with a pistol shot here July 30.

Hamilton gained national notice in recent years for his prosecution of seven white integrationists on charges of sedition. Among those prosecuted were Carl and Anne Braden, now field secretaries and editors for SCEF. All charges were dismissed after a long legal battle that ended in 1957.

—Texas AFL-CIO News Photo

COLOR WAS NO BAR when the Texas State AFL-CIO conducted its 1959 Scholarship Contest. Here Maurice Honeycutt, president of Dallas Typographical Local 173, presents his local's check for $250 to Mollye Jo Butler, Negro student of Seagoville. AFL-CIO affiliates throughout the state presented scholarships to 18 students who wrote the best essays on "Annual Salaries for Texas Legislators."

A Solution for Tuskegee

An important civil rights bill which got into the Congressional hopper late this year would set up a Federal Voter Registration Commission where state and county registration boards become inoperative.

The bill was introduced at the urging of the Tuskegee Civic Association, which is leading the fight for full citizenship for Negroes in Macon County, Ala.

Macon County was without registrars for seven months this year, after registrars resigned last December. New registrars were appointed in July, but when Negroes showed up to register on the legally appointed day, no registrars were present. One told the press he was busy gathering his cotton crop. They later said they would not serve at all.

For Macon County and places like it, there seems to be no answer except Federal registration.

In Wilmington, Dela., seven persons were arrested in connection with violence at the home of Mr. and Mrs. George Rayfield, Negroes who moved into all-white suburban Collins Park last winter. The home has been bombed twice. The arrests followed repeated demands for police action by leading clergymen and outraged citizens. Hundreds of persons signed a newspaper ad urging protection of the Rayfields' rights.

Crisis in Little Rock Climaxes Spiritual Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 1)

There he visited Virginia Union University and "just walked around the campus" because he wanted to meet Negro students. He did meet some and came to know them.

Later he held pastorates in a number of localities, all of them in the South except for five years in Southern Ohio. At Staunton, Va., he served for 11 years as pastor of the largest Presbyterian church in the community. There another crisis touched his life.

It was the 1940's, and Negroes in Staunton were seeking the right to use the "white" park because they had none of their own. During this period, Mr. Ogden was invited to speak at a Negro church. He recalls that as he spoke he was overwhelmed with a sense of guilt and remorse, and he said to the audience:

"I want to confess to you the sins of the white people. I am so ashamed of myself and the things we have done."

There were tears in his eyes as he spoke, he recalls.

"Many of the Negroes didn't understand it," he says, "and I believe they thought I was very peculiar. But having had that opportunity to beg their pardon did something for me. It was good for my soul, whether it was good for them or not."

It was another step on the spiritual pilgrimage—the full realization on the part of the white Southerner that the evil around him also lies within himself.

But in that same speech Mr. Ogden also said:

"I think you should have schools just as good as white people have. I think you should have parks just as good, churches just as good, the same job opportunities, housing conditions and voting privileges."

He didn't say, he recalls, that they should use the same parks and schools and churches. He didn't, he says, because he didn't at that time think it.

"I was still thinking in terms of 'separate but equal,'" he explains. "I was incapable of a real relationship with Negro friends because I was still condescending in my attitude."

And then came Little Rock.

It was in Little Rock, when the school crisis struck, that Mr. Ogden came to a full belief in integration.

"I saw the National Guard with its guns," he says. "I saw that demonstrating mob with the hate-filled faces—all to keep nine Negro young people out of a school with 2,000 youngsters. And I knew this was where segregation led. I had to make a decision, a choice between right and wrong. And for me there could be no answer except integration, with the association and sharing it would bring."

And so in that fall of 1957, Mr. Ogden could write to a woman who opposed his stand: "I firmly believe that it is the will of God that white and Negro young people should have the opportunity of going to school together so that each group may give what it has to give to the other . . . . Our white and Negro young people cannot understand each other, as they should, as long as their lives are like those of people living on opposite sides of a soundproof glass wall . . ."

Mr. Ogden had gone to Little Rock as pastor of Central Presbyterian Church in 1954. In 1957, he was president of the Ministerial Association.

His real test came when Negro leaders asked him to walk with the Negro students to Central High School on the first morning that they tried to enter the school blocked by the National Guard and a mob.

He went through much inner struggle before making his decision. He admits that much of his hesitation was due to simple fear. But all his life's pilgrimage had perhaps been leading him to bear this witness. And he did.

He also secured three other white ministers to take this historic walk. A number of other white ministers declined. Several Negro ministers also accompanied the students.

When Mr. Ogden took this step, a new phase of his life seemed to open. From then on, he was the leading spokesman for white sentiment for integration in Little Rock. It was he who took the lead in organizing several public statements from white ministers. And in the course of it all, as so often the case, true integration came—if not immediately to the whole community, at least to those who were working for it.

NAACP leaders asked Mr. Ogden to bring together a group of interested white and Negro citizens to protest harassment of Negro students inside of Central High School. He did, and out of this developed a discussion and prayer group which met weekly throughout the extended crisis to discuss and act helpfully on the situation in the community.

Here in this group the concepts of inferiority, superiority, condescension, and reserve all disappeared. For here were people, all under like attack, and all united in a common struggle.

"People said there was no communication anymore between whites and Negroes in Little Rock," he smiles. "It just wasn't so. There was—each week in that group. A real communication such as there had never been before. We became true friends. The racial barriers all fell away."

Mr. Ogden feels that it was probably inevitable that something similar to the Little Rock crisis would happen somewhere in the South.

"There were wrong attitudes between two groups of people in the South," he says. "It was as if these attitudes were moisture in suspension in the air. The climate changed in Little Rock, precipitation followed, and the chill rain fell."

Conversely, he feels, there were in his heart and mind—and in the hearts and minds of some others who became a part of the weekly prayer and discussion group—right attitudes of love and appreciation of one's fellow human beings. When the climate changed, these two crystallized.

Many people in Mr. Ogden's congregation went along with him. Some grew as he grew. But others—powerful ones—opposed him. In the end they prevailed, and in the fall of 1958 he was forced to leave his church.

Some people have told him this proves his course was wrong. He doesn't think so. He believes his actions quickened others to take a stand—and if their stand was not as advanced as his own they were at least inspired to take a braver position than they would have otherwise. In any event, he knows that in this crisis he found his own best and true self. He adds:

"For the first time in my life, I feel I can say, 'For this I was born, and for this purpose came I into the world.'"